



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

ANECDOTA MONOPHYSITARUM

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF PETER MONGUS, PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA,
AND ACACIUS, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE, TOGETHER WITH THE
HENOTICON OF THE EMPEROR ZENO AND THE RESCRIPT OF THE EMPE-
ROR ANASTASIUS, NOW FIRST TRANSLATED FROM THE OLD ARMENIAN
TEXT

FRED. C. CONYBEARE
Oxford, England

The correspondence translated in the following pages reveals to us the secret negotiations between the patriarch Acacius of Constantinople and Peter, surnamed Mongus, the Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, which attended and led up to the famous *Henoticon* of the emperor Zeno in the year 482. The reader who glances too hastily over it, and who notes the fulsome eulogies bestowed by Acacius upon Peter, who had for so long been his bitter enemy and adversary in faith, may be inclined to regard these letters as forgeries committed by the Monophysite party, with a view to glorify their famous prelate. But this view will not hold good. Severus, the Monophysite bishop and historian of Antioch in the early years of the sixth century, shows an acquaintance with the text of this correspondence, as the scholar Renaudot has shown. Nor is there any reason why Monophysites should have picked upon Acacius for their forgery, for this prelate was condemned for heresy in the reign of Justinian, and his name erased from the diptychs of the church in Constantinople, so that he might not be prayed for by the orthodox. Now, the Monophysites would not have taken the trouble to hang such forgeries as these, supposing they be forgeries, upon the name of a patriarch who ceased to be of any account and was so early condemned as a heretic. He was not a conquest to boast of.

I have taken the Armenian text here translated from a manuscript which is at present in the library of the Armenian Fathers of St. Anthony in Stambool. Until the year 1871 this library was at Rome. And while it was there the entire manuscript was copied by two of the Mechitarist Fathers of Venice, of whom one was the well-known historian and poet Alishan, more than fifty years ago. This apograph of theirs, now in the library of St. Lazaro in Venice, was copied from end to end by myself in the year 1900; for it is the most valuable repertory in existence of documents bearing upon the history of the mediæval Armenian church. Because of

the nature of its contents it is called the "Letter-Book of the Patriarchs;" and it contains correspondence between the Greek and Syriac and Armenian churches, and also the Roman; beginning with the letters of the catholicus Sahak to Proclus of Constantinople, and ending with the correspondence with the view to union between the Vatican and the patriarchs of Cilicia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The manuscript is in size $24 \times 18 \times 8$ centimeters, written upon paper, and 355 folios in length. The whole of it was copied by one Thomas, whose colophon at the end of the letter of Anastasius is to be found below. And he wrote it in Cilicia, according to his final notice, six years after the sultan of Egypt had taken the fortress of Romklay and carried Stephen, the Armenian catholicus, into captivity. This was in the year 1292; therefore the date of the manuscript is 1298. But another notice of the copyist Thomas informs us that the first part of the volume, comprising documents anterior to the year 1050, was copied by him from an older manuscript which belonged to Wahram, son of Gregory Magistros, and which had been written in the year 1078 for Gregory Catholicus, called the "Lover of the Martyrs." The entire manuscript was printed in the autumn of 1901 in Tiflis, at the press of Rhodineantz, under the will of the late Joseph Ismireantz. I have compared the printed text with the Venice apograph, and find it to be very accurate.

The correspondence before us was certainly translated from a Syriac original, for it is full of strongly marked Syriac idioms, such as ever characterize Armenian translations made from that language. Perhaps we can discover from the marginal note which is to be found at the end of the letter of Anastasius the date, if not of this Syriac original, at least of the Armenian translation. For that note was written in the year 595, which corresponds with the thirteenth year of the emperor Maurice, and eighty-nine years after Anastasius wrote the letter, so that he must have written in the year 506. The thirteenth year of Maurice is further equated, and rightly, by the author of this note, with the 144th year after the Council of Chalcedon, for that council was held in 451. I believe that this date 595 must have been that of the translation from Greek into Armenian of this correspondence, because in the eighth letter of Peter the month of May is identified with the Armenian month Margatz, and this equation of May with Margatz held good roughly for forty years from 584 A. D. onward. For in 584, Margatz 1 = May 1; in 595, Margatz 1 = April 27; in 624 Margatz 1 = April 21; and after another eighty years, in 704 A. D., Margatz became discontinuous with the Julian month of May, for its first day fell on April 1. Thus the equation of May with Margatz can only have been

made in or soon after 584, and it must have arisen within the limits of the Armenian translation itself.

The concluding date 320 of the King of Kings A is difficult to explain, nor am I certain here of the reading of the original. For in the printed text the notice stands as I have rendered it above; but the Venice apograph has as follows:

In the pontificate of the Armenians of George and in the year 320 of the king of kings Ash (or? Al). When this letter was written, up to, etc.

In the one case, then, the year 320 of the King of Kings = 595 A. D.; in the other, 506 A. D.; and the first year of this era would be 275 A. D. in the one case, and 186 A. D. in the other. The era referred to must surely be that of the Sassanides, but this is supposed to have begun from the first year of Ardashir, 223–24 A. D. I cannot explain either the earlier or the later date. The later Persian era of Ias-dagerd began in 632 A. D., and cannot be the one intended.

The beginning of this correspondence is unfortunately lost. Of the two patriarchs, Acacius reveals himself as the more insincere, and one suspects that he saw the vision of Christ on the altar to order. The advice of Peter that his friend should pray in secret for Monophysite saints, while the deacon read out a counter-list from the diptychs, almost betters the Jesuit teaching of mental reservation. It is evident, however, that the Monophysite saints were not popular in Byzantium. Altogether these letters convey to us a not very pleasing idea of the mentality of fifth-century Greek prelates, no matter to what faction they belonged.

The only one of these documents preserved in the original Greek is the *Henoticon*, and I have rendered the Armenian text of it, wherever possible, in a way conformable to the Greek.

These letters of Peter reveal an intransigence of spirit on his part quite out of keeping with the letter ascribed to him by the historian Evagrius, iii, 17, in which he declares to Acacius that he had never anathematized the Council of Chalcedon, nor regarded it as other than confirmatory of that of Nice. In the light of this new evidence, we can safely condemn this letter, given in Evagrius, as a forgery.

FROM THE LETTER-BOOK OF THE PATRIARCHS FIRST LETTER OF PETER TO ACACIUS

... which Satan has sown within the churches. And when I heard all this, I, the lesser Peter, was very much afraid of the judgment of God; and I say to Julian, my deacon: "Make a firm agreement with me, and let no one know

¹ Through the loss of a folio the beginning of this letter is wanting.

of this plan until the will of God be brought to pass." And he took oath unto me. Then I took courage, and wrote a letter in my own handwriting; and I gave to Julian the same advice which he gave to me, namely: "Write in your own handwriting." And I dispatched him, and said: "He will summon thee, and give a letter by the hand of a man who seems to thee to be trusty; send it on. I likewise will send one by him, and do thou adjure him not to divulge this counsel to anyone." And the deacon Julian said to me: "I have a servant, as trusty as myself." And he brought him to my bishop's residence, and I made him swear upon the holy evangelists; and I ordered my deacon Julian to settle in the city of Constantinople, and to become the go-between of the letters which I and he should write to one another by means of his young man Theodosius.

And, having offered prayer, I forthwith dispatched him, and he went on board.

That which is pleasing to God and man has been written to me without delay; and I have given my letter to be brought to thee under seal. But I have not written further until I hear from thee to say how thou art disposed unto me, and I have sealed my letter with a cross on the upper side.

SECOND LETTER OF PETER TO ACACIUS

Peter, patriarch of Alexandria, to Acacius:

Eighty days having expired since the departure hence of my deacon Julian, he has sent to me a letter by the hand of his youth, Theodosius, which has been written by thee to me; but when I saw the superscription thereof, I refused to open and read it because of the address which was written on it; for it was written thus: "I have given this letter to the blessed bishop and patriarch of Alexandria, Peter, from Acacius, bishop, who is patriarch in Constantinople." Tell me, why do you call him "patriarch" against whom you were formerly filled with anger? For I am patriarch, as thou hast said, whether willingly or no. For with God's help I have kept and will keep my faith, and have not gainsaid it. But thou, how dost thou call thyself "patriarch," and art not rather stricken with heart-ache at the thought of who thou art, that hast plunged the land in such disasters? Remember this, fellow, and recollect that the righteous judge will demand at thy hands an account of all the subversion and disturbance of the faith. So soon as I saw this letter written by thee, I broke not the seal nor read what was written in the papers within. But I at once returned it to thee under thy seal, just as it reached me.

FIRST LETTER OF ACACIUS TO PETER PATRIARCH

Wise physicians are wont to cut off withered limbs with a knife of steel. In this way following, hast thou, my wise father, with a spiritual knife cut off the will of impiety and made a proper beginning of the cure.

Wherefore I have been the more emboldened, and I trust in God in whom thou also hast put thy faith, that Jesus, his only-begotten Son, may anoint all the swollen wounds and sores with his soothing emollients, and give new strength

to, and set up afresh, the withered limbs of his church; and that the Lord God may through thee, our father, renew afresh that faith which flourished aforetime, and which I through a slip of my tongue have denied. And as I have through my ignorance anathematized thy holiness, I now repent and turn me again, as of old Peter, the head of the holy apostles, repented of his denial which concerned Christ, and by his sorrow was at once restored.

And now I entreat thee, my spiritual father, to let me be in communion with thee, and gladly bear the suffering, if only this estrangement may cease of the church, the bride of Christ. For I must needs suffer torments in my body, even as it is written, and reap Christ as my reward, of whom I have until now deprived myself. Do thou clothe thyself now, father, in faith with the sweet and gentle quality of mercy, such as was the apostle Paul's; and say unto us all: My children, whom I once more bring to second birth with pangs, until Christ be imaged in you. But thou didst well not to open and read the first letter; for, as thou hast said, the superscription was ill-worded, albeit within was written as follows:

"The light of orthodoxy has blazed forth on those from whom it was hidden till now, and has illumined us who sat in darkness and in the shadow of death. So it is then that to us does the blessed David cry aloud and say: 'All went astray together and became unprofitable, There is none that doeth good, not even one.' When the prophet used the words 'except one,' of whom did he speak? That is to say, of our God.² But he seems now to me to speak about thy holiness, for thou alone among the priests hast righteously kept the truth. For all we priests, according to the word of Elijah the prophet, have forsaken God and gone after impious princes. For through our unprofitableness we lost the light of orthodoxy which continually illumineth unto glory, and now we are reduced to straits and to suffering. But do thou show forth thyself, hidden splendor of orthodoxy, and illumine from above them that sat in darkness and in the shadow of death. Thou lamp full of the sheen of orthodox excellency, be like unto Stephen, the first martyr, and call upon God in our behalf; for we have persecuted thee, and do thou say: Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

THIRD LETTER OF PETER TO ACACIUS PATRIARCH

Peter, patriarch of Alexandria, to Acacius:

The letter which you have sent from thyself to us accumulates sorrow upon sorrow in my soul. For until now it was the one sorrow of my soul to think how I might be worthy to depart from this life in orthodoxy and righteousness; and might receive the crown of orthodoxy, and stand spotless and flawless before the awful tribunal of our God Jesus Christ. Now, O beloved one, I know not what I shall call thee; for thou hast confined me in chains from which I shall not escape. And so I know not what to do, and am not able to dissemble; for I am no dissembler of Christ. I am not worthy to heal the sorrow which thou hast of thy own will brought on thyself, inasmuch as for thirty-one years ye have

² The words "that is . . . God" seem to be a copyist's gloss.

without mercy massacred the flock of Christ by your infidelity. For those who were not your partisans ye have with sword and with divers sufferings at the hands of impious princes deprived of this life, and have gainsaid the beauty of that church in behalf of which Christ died, while he was with the Father and to the Father; and with the fatal instrument of the tome of Leo ye have destroyed Christ, by dividing him into two natures; and, like a pitiless lion, if it were quarry for your teeth, ye have with ravening torn asunder his flock. For in your impiety ye have divided the indivisible God.

Now, therefore, I know not what to do. For I am not able to heal the sorrow which ye have wilfully brought on yourselves; for I am a sinful man and mortal. But ye shall offer up your petitions to God, whom ye have denied; and not cease, so that he may turn and have mercy and save you. May our lament be taken up by all the ranks of the saints, by the multitudes of heavenly beings, since we have stripped off their glory; by the garden which was planted for our sake and which welcomes us not because of our want of faith, by the sun which refused to behold the suffering of its Lord, but put on darkness instead of light, in order to confute them that in that age were lacking in faith. And in this age, let our lament be taken up by all the congregations of the righteous, seen and unseen, by all the hosts above. And Gabriel and Michael, the captains of the angelic hosts above, shall offer up their petitions to the God who loveth mankind. The Seraphim and many-eyed Cherubim shall also offer up petitions in our behalf; also the chariot of annunciation, which magnify the Holy Trinity, the Godhead that begins not, to the end that he may with his mercy asperge this sinful congregation. But in the present I cease not to advise you to offer up your prayers and petitions to God whom you have denied, until he turn again to you and have mercy.

SECOND LETTER OF ACACIUS TO PETER

From Acacius to Peter of Alexandria, patriarch:

I now reckon myself just, because I have seen thee take upon thyself our sorrows, and am aware of the holy prayers which thou, who hast not denied God, dost offer up to him in our behalf. Moreover, I shall deem myself blessed in being rebuked by thy goodly teaching; and I now recognize that thou art a chosen disciple of Jesus Christ. For thou hast not dealt with us in accordance with our transgression, but hast been manifested from God a goodly corrector of all men. For it is good teaching of thine to say that "it is well for you to offer up petitions without ceasing to the God whom ye have denied, to the end that he may turn again and have mercy and save you."

But in respect of the tome of that impious Leo, our fathers who were before us were partisans of the impious Prince Marcian, as also we ourselves who followed them have gainsaid in writing the only-begotten Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ. This tome, however full of impiety, I now, in the presence of beings in heaven and on earth and under the earth, anathematize in this letter which I have herewith written with my own hand.

So now, O holy father, have regard to the quality of mercy bestowed on thee

from God; and reflect whether thou wilt be angry and give us up, and whether thou wilt return evil for evil. Nay, rather return good for evil, like a faithful follower of Christ. Think whether thou wilt abandon us in these fetters of denial, and reject those who repent, rather than loose by the authority which has been given thee from God these bonds which fetter us. Howso, I have cursed in mine own handwriting the tome of the impious one, in this letter which my hand has written. And now I will be silent until I shall have offered up my petitions to God, who loveth man, and to thy doctorate.³

FOURTH LETTER OF PETER, THE PATRIARCH, TO ACACIUS

Peter, patriarch of Alexandria:

Hush, my friend! How much you⁴ trouble my soul! Hush, and tell me not of the fact that until now you condemned myself; for you were handing me over to death as one that was impious, and were drawing the sword of the Emperor against me. But now I perceive that you are come forth as my champion, who were before a destroyer of men, and minded to cast them into straits and torment. But now you are offering to God prayers in my behalf, and you have cast me on to the spiritual sword, which can slay both soul and body. But far be it from me to return evil for evil; nay, rather would I return good for evil. You ask me: Will I abandon, or will I delay, or will I not receive them that repent? Well, now, I would have you know, O friend, that I regard you as altogether an outcast. Yet far be it from me to return evil for evil. If God gives me strength, I will not delay, will not abandon you; but I receive them that repent. But until I read this letter of yours, written with your own hand, in which you have cursed the tome of the impious one, I wondered, and I do not cease wondering yet. Or do you not know, my good man, or do I not know, what you have done? For when you cursed this tome, you cursed your fathers who put their signatures to that tome, and who also ordained you a priest? For it is they who have been cursed by you; and so you have cursed yourself, since you were ordained a priest by them. By consequence you are an outcast from your bishopric; and let not these words of mine distress you, for I am not ashamed to speak the truth, even though anyone should cut off my head.

THIRD LETTER OF ACACIUS TO PETER

From Acacius to Peter, patriarch of Alexandria:

Once more will I speak, but after that I will not further address you. O, holy father, have regard to the grace given to you from God, and consider whether you will delay or abandon, or not receive them that repent. It is true that I have cursed myself, in that I have just now cursed in writing the tome of the impious one; and I rejoice that I have not spared myself, in order that I may

³ Or "to thy learned self."

⁴ In the Armenian the correspondents address each other mostly in the second person singular, but sometimes in the second person plural. So far I have discriminated, but henceforth I reject the tedious use of "thou" and "thine" in favor of "you" and "your."

thus reap Christ as my reward. And that is why I have committed myself to God, who loves man, and to your doctorate. Only have regard to the mercy which is given to you from God in behalf of his church. If all the bishops curse, in the same way as I have, the tame of the impious one, they will be found as well as I to lie under the curse. Where, then, will be the springs of mercy of our God, and how shall we receive the Scripture which says: "Confess thy sins, in order that thou mayst be justified."

Surely, then, it exists for us. If repentance on our part brings no remission of the sin, then destruction awaits the whole congregation. What of the altars which will lie neglected by the number of these priests, the while they are sorrowing for the destruction and loss of mankind? On a sudden they are left forsaken by them, and the multitude of barbarous peoples will profane them, and the heretics will make mock at the bride of Christ; and the last state of things will be worse than the first. So now listen to me, my father, and stand firm in your strength, until you, who have not denied God, can reconcile him to us; so that he may wipe out from among us his priests who now repent, that instrument of our denial, and may restore to us the crown of orthodoxy.

And do you, O father, who have not denied God, appeal to him, as did the blessed Moses when he said: "If thou wilt remit to them their sins, remit them; if not, wipe out myself also from thy Book of Life." In the same way also did Aaron, the high-priest, sin together with the people, for he offered worship together with them to idols; but, because of the petitions of the blessed Moses, he rejoiced and was made whole and regained his health, for God vouchsafed it to him in that hour; and he was not made an outcast from the priesthood, but he remained and by means of it served God until his death. In the same way do you, our father, imitate the blessed Moses, and cry out to God, since you have not denied him, and say: "If thou remittest to them their sins, remit them; if not, wipe out myself also from thy Book of Life." With such words you will reconcile Christ to us, if you will only reach out your hand and grasp us who perish, so that we be not utterly lost. Come down and help us at once, and snatch us from the infidelity of hell, and establish us upon the rock of certainty, which is Jesus Christ, as the holy apostle says, in the words: "Christ himself is the rock, he that for no other reason was made man, except to save the races of mankind."

And now, O father, do you stand firm, for I have put my trust in this, who now trust in God that he will not hinder you. Therefore do not hesitate to offer prayers and petitions in behalf of us, the transgressors; for you have been endowed with grace by God, so that you may receive the grace of God in our behalf; for it is said: "The Lord doeth the will of them that fear him." This the Psalmist says, and he hears their petitions and saves them. For this reason I have offered this prayer of mine to God, who loves man, and to your own merciful self. Therefore, O father, have regard to the mercy which has been given to you in behalf of his holy church. I have spoken once, and henceforth I will be silent, nor open my lips. Only pardon me, for I have sinned.

FIFTH LETTER OF PETER TO ACACIUS

Peter, patriarch, to the blessed Acacius, patriarch in Constantinople:

I am distressed on all sides, and the snares of death have been spread against me, in that I have heard from such a brother as yourself of a repentance which transcends the children of men. If I do not stand by you, and suffer and live with you, and with you die in order that I may live with you, and with you reign, and if I close the doors against those who repent, then I fall into the snares of the impious Leo. But I make my choice now. I will die with the multitude that repent, in order that I may be made glad by the mercifulness of our God.

Therefore, father, hear me; hear the plan of our God. For forty days we will fast, yourself and I; and meanwhile no one shall know of it, save God alone, who through myself hath laid the command upon you. But of these forty days let the priests and the members of the congregation know nothing; you shall plead your health in excuse, and you shall not enter into the holy altar of God until the full term of the prescription is past, and until you are become worthy again to offer praise in behalf of all the congregation of the orthodox. This is in order that you may suffer disability in behalf of all men, and in behalf of all receive remission of sins. For it is all men whom you have made to stumble, seeing that in the days of Basiliscus you prevented the union of the churches from being brought about. But as for these forty days which the God of all, Jesus Christ, has through myself imposed upon you as a fixed term, we will fast in secret, I and yourself alone, in behalf of all the congregation of the holy church. We will not eat bread as we would desire, nor will we anoint ourselves with oil, nor will we drink wine or fermented liquor. But we will live only on the pulse of the earth, and with lamentation and with tears we will wash our bodies morning and evening; and we will offer up unceasing petitions to our God, asking him to regard the petitions of a sinner in behalf of yourself, and in behalf of all the priests who repent, and in behalf of all the people. We will pray that God in his mercy may turn again the priests who repent and restore them to the holiness of the anointing of their first orthodoxy; and that the Holy Spirit, who, sent by the Father, dwells within me, may, because of his mercifulness, come down from above and light upon yourself and upon your priests who repent.

But I now loose you from the curse which you have imprecated upon yourself and upon your priesthood; and I do so because of the mercy of our Lord God, Jesus Christ, who through the Holy Spirit has commanded me so to do; and you shall be loosed therefrom, and all of them have been likewise so loosed; and it fulfilled through the Holy Spirit. Amen.

But it was the great and mighty God who commanded me erewhile to impose upon you the term of so many days, during which I who am a simple mortal man might pray to God, for him to have pity upon me in behalf of all the congregations, or else at once to wipe me out rather than you from the Book of Life. But for the present you shall accept this prescribed term in fear and trembling; for I trust in his mercy, that I may live^s with you all. For in the holy gospel he

^s "Live" in Armenian as in Syriac means "be saved."

himself cries out and says: "Come to me all ye that are weary, and I will give you rest."

But with regard to those who have died in apostasy, because they believed in the tome, and who never repented, you shall not presume, nor I, nor anyone else, to offer the sacrifice in their behalf. For the Lord our God will not accept sacrifices in behalf of them, because they denied him and gainsaid him. But he closes against them firmly the doors of the kingdom. This Jesus Christ, the God of all, does, who said with his own lips: "Verily, verily I say to you, whoever shall deny me before men, I also will deny him before my Father in heaven." But I am the more urgent in insisting to you upon the case of those in whose behalf you have in the past rashly and wrongly offered the sacrifice; I mean Marcian and Pulcheria, the heretical princes, and Paulinus and Anatolius⁶ and Gennadius,⁷ who were formerly heretical bishops, and Simeon the elder of the monastery, and others, deacons and anchorites. But it was incumbent upon me to impress upon you all this concerning them before God; for it is because of the faith that I say whatever I say; for fear lest if I omit anything, we may be called to account for it to the utmost, and fall into perdition. For have we not suffered anything because of the faith, lest we should become foolish and participate in the offerings and eucharists of the heretics?

Farewell, my brother beloved in the Lord.

FOURTH LETTER OF ACACIUS TO PETER

Acacius, patriarch in Constantinople, to Peter, my father and patriarch of Alexandria:

Everything has been fulfilled unto me according to my prayer. And now I have the assurance of being called by the mercy and loving-kindness of God, who is glorified in heaven, and who has enjoined yourself to humble yourself and supplicate him in behalf of us who have gone astray. But as touching the curses which I have imprecated on myself, I have received a complete discharge of them from Jesus Christ, who has through yourself interceded by the Holy Spirit. And as touching the fast which God has imposed upon me in secret through yourself, if the Lord will, I will fulfil it, observing the limits of forty days laid down in your command. But as regards those who attached their signatures to the tome, and never repented, I cannot do what you prescribe, namely, refuse to offer the sacrifice in their behalf.

For, mind you, the bishop Gennadius, who preceded myself, was wont with great circumstance to offer the sacrifice in their behalf, especially for Simeon the elder and abbot. And now how can I, after so many years, prevent this congregation of mine [from commemorating him]? For if I do so, then at once I shall be burned with fire by them—I mean by the princes and by the bishops and the elders and by the laity. For they will say to me thus: "If all these multitudes were lost, if all the multitude of the sons of men who aforetime have fallen

⁶ Spelled "Antelis" in the Armenian.

⁷ Spelled "Egnadit."

asleep from the time of Marcian until today, if we declare that they are lost, then result subversion and confusion of all the churches." But have a care and consider, O my father, if all the congregations will not at once return to the tome of the impious Leo, just as aforetime Israel returned to Egypt; and, as I said before, the last state will be worse than the first.

But as recently God advised you concerning ourselves who are alive, so also now will he make a revelation to you about those who are dead, and who put their hands to the tome of the impious Leo. Have regard therefore, O father, to the grace with which you are endowed by God in behalf of his church. To this end you have been preserved safe and sound until now by the merciful God, in order that through you he might release all his priests and all the congregation from the curse of their apostasy. For he who is able to release and liberate from bonds is easily able to release them that lie in bonds. Have regard therefore, O father, to the quality of mercy conferred upon you by God in behalf of his Holy Catholic Church.

SIXTH LETTER OF PETER TO ACACIUS

Peter, patriarch of Alexandria, to Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople:

Whereas I have allowed everything that is agreeable to God and acceptable—that is to say, I have without demur allowed your repentance and that of the other priests who are alive, and the health and salvation of all the congregation—therefore I am⁸ about to reveal to you also about those who have died in their iniquity after putting their hand to the Jewish tome, which was published by the impious Leo. It is wrong for us to offer their sacrifices in the presence of the Godhead, for we risk thereby ourselves being lost with them. If the blessed Moses, who was gentler than all the children of men, ever offered sacrifices in behalf of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, then it is right for us to offer sacrifices in behalf of them. And why should I not cite the example of the holy apostles? If Peter, the head of the apostles, ever offered sacrifice in behalf of Simon Magus, who was baptized and forthwith returned to his wickedness, then must we also offer. If the blessed Paul ever offered sacrifice in behalf of Hymenæus and Alexander, who gainsaid the true faith, then must we also offer sacrifice in behalf of these. If all the congregations of the holy apostles ever offered sacrifice in behalf of all the heretics who have died, for example Protus or Aulus, then must we also offer. If any of the orthodox patriarchs and bishops allowed sacrifices of the heretics, for example of the Arians and of Potus,⁹ then must we, at any rate, follow in the steps of our fathers, whether we like it or not. But you are not able to point me out an example in case, either from the divine laws or from the holy apostles, of their having offered sacrifice before the Godhead in behalf of heretics.

Therefore listen to me, while in all humility I signify to you the oracle of God,

⁸ Correcting *en* in the manuscript to *em*.

⁹ In the manuscript *Potēi*. Below, the same name is placed with Leo. Its significance is obscure.

which, as I believe in his mercy, he has committed to me for the building up of his church. And as regards your assertion that you cannot refuse to make their offerings for fear of the crowd of the congregation making an uproar and throwing the holy churches into confusion, it devolves upon me by the command of God to prescribe rules for your Holiness to follow, whenever you are making their offerings; I refer to those of Marcian and Pulcheria, the impious princes, and of Paulinus and of Anatolius and of Gennadius, who preceded you and were heretical bishops, and of Simeon, the elder and abbot, and of the other priests and anchorites. When the deacon proclaims the name of one or another of them in the service of the mass, then you, who are the patriarch in the sacrifice which you are offering, shall appeal in secret to God, who searches out the hidden things, as follows: "Lord God Almighty, do thou not despise this offering because of the names which have been proclaimed by the deacon, for such and such a name goeth unto its portion, since before thy just judgment no man can stand. Therefore accept, O Lord God, these our holy offerings, upon thy holy altar in heaven, in behalf of those who fell asleep in orthodoxy, for the sake of thy holy and beneficent name."

Accordingly, instead of Paulinus, the heretical bishop, you shall offer the sacrifice before God in behalf of Dioscoros, who was patriarch in Alexandria and who was martyred in the days of Marcian, the heretical emperor. And instead of Anatolius, the heretical bishop, offer the sacrifice of the blessed Theodosius, bishop of Jerusalem, who was martyred in the days of Marcian, heretical prince. And instead of Gennadius, heretical bishop, offer the sacrifice of the blessed Timothy, our faithful father and patriarch of Alexandria. And instead of Simeon, elder of the monastery and heretic, offer the sacrifice of the blessed brother of Timothy, I mean of Anatolius the elder, who was martyred in Gangra in the days of Leo, the heretical sovereign. And instead of Marcian, heretical sovereign, offer the sacrifice of the blessed Eusebius the elder, our brother who was martyred in Alexandria. And instead of Pulcheria, the heretical empress, offer the sacrifice of the blessed Eudocia, the orthodox empress. And instead of all the congregations and of the heretical bishops who have died, offer the sacrifice in behalf of the whole congregation that is now alive, and of orthodox bishops and priests and anchorites and peasants.

And O, holy man of God, when you fulfil all this in secret, you shall keep all the congregation spotless and free from flaw, and preserve them and save them from the hands of heretics; and then your offering to the Lord God will be accepted as it is presented, holy, free from spot and from blemish. And so the holy offering which is tendered by you to our merciful God will not anger him, for the reason that you have not mentioned the names of the heretics. You shall therefore be on the side of the Lord our God in the dreadful season when all the hosts above stand in fear and trembling around you, and fix their eyes on Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who is being sacrificed by you as patriarch in behalf of his Holy Catholic Apostolic Church. Make your appeal, therefore, secretly in your heart to the God of all through the grace which has been given to you, and

say as follows: "I will not recall nor mention their names with my lips; but I will mention those who, because of thy name, have in orthodoxy suffered martyrdom, to the end that we may together with them be made worthy to inherit thy kingdom." And so the Holy Spirit shall hear you and shall come down upon your sacrifice, and with his own divine power shall sanctify you who are priests, as well as the heavenly hosts that stand around you, and who aforetime stood around you, as well as all the priests and all the congregations who live in consequence of your prayers. For the Holy Spirit, that is equal in power and authority with the Father and Son, rests upon them. The same Holy Spirit by the might of God shall come down and fill the entire sanctuary; I mean the holy altar upon which Christ is being sacrificed by you, the priest, and is dispensed to them that are called and chosen. The Holy Spirit himself will then descend along with you, the chief priest, and will overshadow and cover the entire sanctuary with his great power and might, and change and convert the bread into the body of the Son of God, Jesus Christ. As also the cup in which the wine is poured out shall be changed and converted by his divine authority into the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, the blood, I mean, which was poured forth from the divine side for the forgiveness and remission of sins. For in this divine blood we have been washed and hallowed and saved, and his Catholic Apostolic Holy Church he rules even to the ends of the earth. In this wise shall we who are priests of the Lord Almighty receive with true faith and orthodoxy the spotless and pure body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to him be glory and honor, and victory and sovereignty, for ever, together with the Father and with the Spirit, the Giver of life, now and ever and to eternity, Amen.

But as touching the orthodox bishops in the several churches, and the other holy priests, whose offering they make, these [never]¹⁰ set their hands to the impious tome, nor died unrepentant. For not everyone can have an understanding of the command of God; consequently this will give rise to no outcry or tumult, on the score of their not being held worthy of the mystery of God; as God has said that by means of two witnesses . . . and by the power of the Holy Ghost, the unsearchable God Almighty over things seen and unseen, I accept henceforth all which is written in this letter. And when you have attached your signature to its contents, dispatch it at once to me; so that, when I behold your signature attached to its contents, I may glorify God because of your being henceforth my ally and friend. But as soon as I receive your letter written in a spirit of orthodoxy, to which all orthodox bishops and priests and anchorites will bear witness, then I shall at once send my petitions and prayers to be laid before our sovereign, Zeno. For henceforth all men will openly curse the tome of the impious one, in order that the unity of the churches may be established.

But do you, O my beloved friend, prepare yourself, and be ready whenever you may be summoned by the emperor, to make answer to him gently and without

¹⁰ I add "never," which the context seems to need. But the text is broken, and we cannot guess what was the original purport of the whole passage.

agitation, as if you were not aware of this communication. This lest you should fall into temptation. Peradventure he may know of our plan in any case, and will say to you: "Up till now you have led astray both myself and my people, inasmuch as you declared to all men that Peter of Alexandria was a heretic. How, then, do you now regard him as orthodox?" For this reason I enjoin your Holiness to use great caution and prudence in your conversation with the sovereign, lest you should trip and be condemned by your own words. However, God, in whom you have hoped, and who has accepted your repentance, will himself give strength and prudence to your Holiness, and so there shall follow a union of the churches in the unshaken and firmly established faith. Accordingly, if the sovereign accepts the prayers of people—I mean of the devout ones who are in your city and who agree with us in orthodoxy—then you too shall fearlessly present openly our petitions and prayers to him; in order that he may attach his hand to a rescript, and in order that he may return to the faith and curse all heretics, and especially the impious destroyer of all the congregations who was called Potê, Leo, bishop of Rome, author of the Jewish tome which was impiously accepted in Chalcedon because of the infidel Eutyches. And as for the letter of the king, so soon as it has been written in orthodox style by the sovereign, Zeno, and by your own Holiness, dispatch it to me, and I will peruse it in order to see if it agrees with the faith of the holy apostles, and of 318 holy fathers who met in Nice, and of the 150 who afterward met in Constantinople, and of the 200 who met in Ephesus to deal with the impious Nestor. If it does so, then I will at once attach my signature to the document, and will manifest myself. If it be the will of the Lord our God, I will then return to the throne of the holy evangelist, Mark, and will receive the gift of my fathers, which God himself bestowed upon me, and I believe in him. And hereafter will ensue a union of the holy churches, and Christ's sheep will be pastured together in peace and happiness upon the one life-giving nutriment, by us who have been chosen by God to be their shepherds; and our joy will be completed, and orthodoxy will rule in the concord of the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church. So soon as our prayers for all the shepherds and their flocks are finished—I mean after the forty days which have been imposed upon you, Acacius, the pontiff, by me, the humble patriarch Peter of Alexandria, by command of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, our one and single God; so soon as we have completed this holy fast in secret of repentance and salvation according to the command given to me by the Lord God, at the completion of the forty days on the Sunday, the Lord God shall come openly, just as he revealed himself to me by night and I believe in him—he will come to me here, and to yourself yonder in the midst of the congregation on the same Sunday, at the third hour, while we are offering the holy, incorrupt, and inscrutable elements, and are glorifying the holy Trinity together with the heavenly hosts and the many-eyed seraphim and cherubim. In that hour he will appear to you yonder, and to myself here, God himself, Jesus Christ. It is a holy and wonderful sign which shall thus be given. For you will behold the only begotten Son of God in his glory openly, in the shape of a youth clad with

a linen tunic, and reclining upon the paten and disk which are set upon the holy altar. And he will stretch forth his hand upon you, and will exempt you of all fear and misgiving, and will say to you yonder as to myself here: "Be ye of good cheer, for I have blotted out from you priests who repent, and from all the congregations that repent, the profanation and the apostasy which you committed as regards me in the Jewish tome. And henceforth you shall not see him again until his second coming.

The document which Acacius, the patriarch of Constantinople, signed and enclosed in his letter:

I have read and I accept all that has hitherto been written, as well as what I find in this letter which you, Peter, my father, head of the bishops and patriarch of Alexandria, orthodox and faithful, have written with your own hand. And I rejoice and glorify the God who dwells in you, my holy father. In this same letter which your hand has written, I also have written my signature with my own hand, as I believe in the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit. Thus do I believe all the days of my life; and so will I keep the faith according to the terms which I have set down, until Jesus Christ our God shall come to judge the earth in righteousness, he who has spoken and through you revealed all this orthodox language for ever. For to him is due glory and honor and praise and worship, with Father and Holy Spirit, now and ever and to eternity, Amen.

FIFTH LETTER OF ACACIUS TO PETER

Acacius, patriarch in Constantinople and bishop, to Peter, my father and patriarch of Alexandria:

Like a wise and prudent artist you have accepted from God a foundation of repentance firm and unshakable, and have undertaken to build up upon it the holy churches; not, indeed, with stones and earth and lime have you established upon earth the foundation of faith, but with spiritual words have you been filled from heaven by the divine wisdom, with which alone God is wise. For with your orthodox professions and avowals you have chastened all men, as Moses did of old, and as Paul did the heathen; for you have been all things with all men, and have won all as your reward. And I know not what name to give you. However, I will call you another and second Peter; for he was the greatest and first of the apostles, and when he was sent from God to Cornelius, he used this language: "God has shown me not to speak of any man as common or unclean." He was head of the apostles, of the class of saints, just as you are head of the orthodox ones and of the priests who have been renewed; for you have done what he did, since you have welcomed the transgressors to repentance. For as Peter destroyed Simon Magus by his prayers and blotted him out, so have you, O father, by your prayers and tears and supplications made appeal to God in behalf of us; and have blotted out Leo and the tome which he published with his impious lips, and which our fathers anathematized. Consequently you, O father and priest, have received in your mercy all, and you have saved all. However, I appeal for mercy to the Word of God, that is, to Christ, who through you has signified and intimated that the priests and all the congregations should repent.

For this reason I accept everything which your hand has written in this letter. I believe and allow whatever has been written in this letter; and I rejoice and glorify God, who dwells in you, my holy father, and has revealed to you miracles according to your faith, and likewise has declared that he will show them to myself also who deserve them not.

And as I accept and believe all this, I have written within the letter and signed it in my own handwriting. And I will believe in the all-holy Trinity all the days of my life, and will keep my faith as you have commanded me to do, until Jesus Christ our God shall come to judge the world in righteousness. And I have dispatched to your Holiness your letter, after setting thereunto my own signature. But as in your holy letter you have declared to us, you shall at once and without delay send orthodox and holy fathers to the well-disposed sovereign, Zeno, that they may present prayers and petitions to him in behalf of the union of the holy churches, in order that from now forth the tome of the impious one may openly be cursed by all men in writing. Well, I hope and trust in my God that he will open my lips through the might of the Holy Spirit, in such a way that I may say everything to the sovereign that is pleasing to God. So that as if at your instance and written request the sovereign, Zeno, may act, and I after him. But for the moment let your Holiness be indulgent and wait. Only this I ask of the Lord, that you may not cease to bear me in mind, who am the sharer of your religion and of your wishes.

SEVENTH LETTER OF PETER TO ACACIUS

Peter, patriarch of Alexandria, to Acacius, chief of the bishops that are in Constantinople:

When I received from the blessed youth, Theodosius, the letter which you gave him to bring to me, and which was written in my own handwriting, I magnified the loving-kindness of our God; for I saw it and read it, and I find and welcome therein your signature, and it tallies throughout with orthodoxy. Can it really be that you are become a sharer of my wishes and of my religion in the presence of God? However, I have sent certain blessed bishops and elders who are with me, and also anchorites that hold converse with God, in order that they may tender my prayers to the well-disposed sovereign, Zeno, in behalf of the repeal of the impious tome and of the union of the holy churches. But write at once to me, O blessed one, and send to me the document which has been written in orthodox style by the sovereign Zeno, and by your Holiness; and pray for ourselves, you who are holy and devout, my friend and sharer of my religion, my father Acacius.

SIXTH LETTER OF ACACIUS TO PETER

Acacius, patriarch of the bishops in Constantinople, to Peter, my father and patriarch of Alexandria:

On the arrival in the royal city of the blessed and devout bishops and priests and anchorites, God worked all kinds of marvels in a wonderful way. For at the same time the sovereign Zeno, the blessed, gave himself over soul and body to orthodoxy; and forthwith sent and summoned myself, with others whose sev-

eral names I must not tell you, for you will learn them and everything else from the devout men whom you sent to me. For the emperor at once ordered a document to be drawn up, in which he anathematized the tome of the impious one, as well as all heretics, and the impious Eutyches, and in which he avows the orthodox faith which the holy apostles have committed to us. And without delay they are about to depart unto you, the same holy fathers whom you sent hither, and with them, in all the splendor of his high office, Pergamius,¹¹ the Augustal of the great city of Alexandria, who has received from my hands the document of the blessed emperor Zeno, that he may bring it without delay to your holiness. And as soon as you receive the document, O blessed one, you shall forthwith attach your signature thereto; and so the splendor of orthodoxy which was hidden shall henceforth be manifested, and all men shall be illumined, at the same time that you release us from the chains of apostasy, who sat in darkness and in the shadow of death. And you shall receive from God the throne that is yours and your fathers', to wit, the beloved and holy church of Alexandria.

Receive, therefore, the true crown of God of orthodoxy, which has been given you from God, by the judge of righteousness, by Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to whom is due glory and honor, for ever and ever, Amen. And make prayer in behalf of myself, O my father, that am your companion, friend, and sharer of your religion.

The document of union which was sent by the hand of the blessed Pregmius, the Augustal, from the sovereign, Zeno, of good-will, and from Acacius, chief of the bishops that are in Constantinople, to the blessed Peter, chief of the bishops and true patriarch and faithful of the city of Alexandria:

The autocrat, Cæsar Zeno, pious and victorious and renowned, great and ever good, and Augustus, ruler of the world, to those who are in Egypt and in Alexandria and in Libya and in Pentapolis, to the God-fearing bishops and clergy, to the monks, and to all others, hail in the Lord! As to our authority and championship,¹² our might and the arms impregnable of our sovereignty and kingdom, ye shall know that these consist in the true and orthodox faith, which through the advent of God was fixed by the 318 holy fathers who assembled in Nice, and which was confirmed a second time in the same terms by the 150 holy fathers who assembled in Constantinople. By day and by night, with incessant prayers and with solicitude, and by means of regulations, we seek to increase and foster by means of this faith everywhere the holy and Catholic Apostolic Church, which is the incorruptible and immortal mother of our scepter, that in peace and concord as touching God all the pious congregations may abide and remain, accepting¹³ from our royal selves steadfast prayers, which we offer

¹¹ Called below "Pergmius," and here "Pregmius" in the Armenian text. Evagrius, *H. E.* iii, 13, preserves his real name, "Pergamius," and styles him *Hyparchus* of Egypt.

¹² In Evagrius *σύντασιν*.

¹³ The Greek = "and offer acceptable prayers in behalf of our empire together with," etc.

together with the true chief bishops, and with devout men who have taken vows, and with the monks and anchorites; when our Savior Jesus Christ, who was made flesh and born of the Theotokos, the Virgin Mary, commands and readily accepts our praises offered as with one voice and our worship, the generation of our opponents shall be dashed to pieces and blotted out, obliged each and all of them to bow their necks under God to the yoke of our authority, in order that there be peace and the prosperity resulting therefrom, with fair winds and fine seasons, with abundance of fruit, and with all else which, being helpful to us, shall without stint be vouchsafed to men.

Whereas such a spotless and flawless faith can secure our own welfare and that of the Romans, supplications and prayers have been tendered to us by pious monks and anchorites, and by other reverend persons. With tears they intreat us to bring about the union of the holy churches, and to gather into one body the scattered limbs, which the traducer who hates what is good has on many occasions been intent to sever and cut off from one another.¹⁴ Let them therefore know this, that if anyone conflict with and oppose the concordant and whole-membered body of holy church, he shall be delivered over to discomfiture. For from such a condition of things there has resulted unto races innumerable the very greatest hurt and damage.¹⁵ How many times, in the past years of our own life, have some been mulcted of the salutary baptism of regeneration, while others, without receiving the divine sacrament and the communion, have reached the pitiless parting of death? And many a time have some dared to commit murder and to pollute the earth with bloodshed, and not the earth alone, but the air of heaven as well.

Who then would not pray that this state of things may be changed for the better, and that we may behold union? For these reasons we have hastened to acquaint you that everywhere there shall be a union and unity of orthodox and holy church.

But any other faith or teaching or form of creed than that which was pronounced to be aforetime the holy faith, namely, that of the 318 holy fathers, which was confirmed by the aforementioned 150 holy fathers, when assembled in Constantinople—any other we have not entertained, nor do we entertain, nor will we entertain.

We know not¹⁶ if anyone doth entertain another form, but if anyone do, we reckon him to be an outcast from us. In this faith alone do we find our comfort, as we said before, and through this we reckon that we will maintain alive our realm and sovereignty, as well as all the concordant congregations, that have been made worthy of saving baptism, and have received it in its oneness and sameness. By it especially were those who met together in Ephesus illuminated,

¹⁴ The Greek goes on without break: "Knowing that if he [i. e., Satan] conflict with," etc.

¹⁵ An Armenian copyist has inserted here words to make the version intelligible.

¹⁶ Here again the version quits the Greek, and, as it makes sense, I render it literally.

who were followed and imitated by all the holy fathers who deposed and expelled the lawless Nestor, as also those who after his time held and still hold his opinions. This same Nestorius we anathematized, along with Eutyches, though they hold opinions contrary to one another, and also those who entertain their opinions or shall entertain them—all these we anathematize. And we accept the twelve chapters, known as those of the devout and pious Cyril, who was chief of the bishops of the holy church of Alexandria.

For we believe that the only-begotten Son of God is God in very truth, who was made man, our Lord Jesus Christ, he who, being of the nature of his father as touching his Godhood, became as touching his manhood of our own nature. He came down and was made flesh of the Holy Virgin Mary, the Theotokos, by the Holy Spirit. For there is one Son and not two. We acknowledge that the Son of God, the only begotten, is one, and to him belong the works of power and the miracles, and the sufferings which of his own free will he underwent in his body. But those who divide him, or who say that he was changeable or alterable, such as these we reject. For the true incarnation, incorruptible and without sin, which took place from the Theotokos, did not create an additional sonship, but the Trinity remained the Trinity, until it willed and became man, the Word God one through the Trinity.¹⁷

EIGHTH LETTER OF PETER TO ACACIUS

Peter, patriarch of Alexandria, to my friend, Acacius, chief of the bishops that are in Constantinople:

On the nineteenth of the month called Fichon, and in the Roman calendar on the 14th of the month of May, which is called in Assyrian Iyar, and in Armenian is called the month of Margatz. So soon as those who were sent from Constantinople came to me, I welcomed them, my lord, I mean the holy and devout sharers of my religion, bishops and priests, ministrants and holy fathers of the desert who hold converse with God. And when I beheld them, I glorified our God for his loving-kindness, for that he has aroused and stirred up the blessed sovereign, Zeno, to compose by means of your holiness this document which I have received from the hands of the blessed Pergamius, the Augustal. And as soon as I had taken it and read it, I knew that he anathematizes the tome of the impious one which was received at Chalcedon, as also the impious Eutyches and all heretics. I saw that this document is in all ways conformable with the faith of the 318 bishops who assembled in Nice, and of the 150 holy fathers who assembled in Constantinople, to deal with them that fought against the Holy Spirit. And also with the holy council which met in Ephesus, of 200 fathers under our holy father Cyril, the chief of the bishops and the patriarch of the great church of Alexandria.

Accordingly I will glorify God, now that I have received and put my signature to this document, and I rejoice and delight and pay homage to Father and Son and Holy Spirit, to the real Trinity of persons and to the united Godhead. And I have received, by the mercy of the Lord, my throne, which was that of the

¹⁷ The Armenian omits the rest.

evangelist Mark, and I sit upon it together with the spiritual fathers, who are incapable of defiling the holy church of Alexandria. But on the Friday, on the nineteenth of the month Fichon, and according to the Romans on the fourteenth of the month which is called May, and in Assyrian, Iyar, and according to the Armenians, Margatz, all this is accomplished.

Accordingly, O blessed one, you shall receive in fear and trembling from Father and Son and Holy Ghost that which through my humble self has been enjoined upon you. You shall therefore receive the term of forty days of fasting, which has been assigned to us in secret, and which is to be accomplished in behalf of yourself, and in behalf of all the priests that repent, and in behalf of all the congregation that repent, for the remission of their sins. By means of it you shall in all holiness retrieve your consecration and a renewal afresh, and an anointing, and the beauty which aforetime attached to your genuine priesthood, I mean that which aforetime was committed to us by the only begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ, God of all, through the apostles and the holy fathers. And now we will begin upon this holy fast according to our reckoning upon the sixth day of the month, which is called Thoth, and according to the Romans on the third day of the first month, which is called September, and in the Assyrian, Ilul, and in the Armenian, Kthotz.¹⁸ And we will end this holy fast on the Wednesday with scrupulous secrecy. And on the Sunday in our reckoning, on the fifteenth of the month Fopi, and according to the Romans on the tenth of October, and according to the Assyrian Tshriktim (? the first) and according to the Armenians Trekani. Thus will we accomplish the holy fast, yourself and I, O my friend, in behalf of the one body of the holy church.

SEVENTH LETTER OF ACACIUS TO PETER

Acacius, chief of the bishops that are in Constantinople, to Peter, my father and pontiff and patriarch in Alexandria.

Holy and trustful one, for I will call you Peter, the preacher of orthodoxy, because I cease not to wonder at your strength and insight and at the knowledge given you by God, my Father, in excess of that which all other men possess. And indeed I do not know what name to give you, and am not able to praise you as you deserve, since you are the beloved sharer of God's will; for I have assured myself now in very truth, that your form of faith is the holy and right one, and that in offering the sacrifice before God, you became the seer of the greatness of his power. For I too have seen; I have seen everything which you predicted, O holy father, in the hour when the forty days of fasting were accomplished, of the fasting enjoined by you upon myself in secret. And the holy words of your prophecy have been fulfilled on the Sunday, close to the ninth hour, as you declared, while I stood in fear and trembling, and offered the holy sacrifice of the Lord God upon his altar. For while I was glorifying the Holy Trinity, on a sudden there burst over me a light, such as I never before beheld, a great and unspeakable light, and it enfolded me together with the holy altar, and I beheld

¹⁸ I. e., the month of the vintage.

truly and in very deed. I beheld our Lord Jesus Christ in the form of a youth, and he was clad in a white tunic of linen. I beheld in him also the sign of the nails, and he was reclining as if on a throne, upon the disk and paten which were laid upon the holy altar. And he relieved me of all fear and anxiety from that moment, and filled me with joy, so that I could not believe myself to be upon earth. And I heard a voice which said to me, as God himself knows: "Be comforted, ye priests; be comforted, O my peoples. For I have lifted from you the reproach of apostasy which you incurred in signing the impious tome of the accursed Leo." And after that I beheld him no more, nor heard his voice, nor saw again the light shining around me. And therefore I glorified our God, who works wonders, and I have intimated all this to your Holiness, in order that at all times you may offer your prayers for me to him whom you have loved and have never gainsaid, I mean to God. For you have acknowledged him before judges and princes, our God Jesus Christ. Him of whom I was not worthy I have beheld in truth and in very deed. For to him are due glory and kingdom for ever, together with Father and Holy Spirit, now and ever and for ever, Amen.

NINTH LETTER OF PETER TO ACACIUS

Peter, patriarch of Alexandria, to Acacius, my partner in religion and in friendship, and patriarch of the bishops that are in Constantinople:

Behold, you have been made worthy, my holy father, to behold the glory of our Lord; and to hear the words of the incarnate God, which I have at the expiration of the secret fast on the Sunday at the approach of the third hour likewise seen, when we were offering in the church the holy sacrifice of our God that loveth mankind. I both heard it and saw it, as you wrote to me in your letter in your own handwriting; and neither more nor less than that did I see or hear, as God himself knows.

Consequently you shall keep up in secret the orthodoxy by reason of which we have beheld Jesus Christ our God, who for mankind was made flesh unchangeable and unalterable and indivisible, himself alone, and came to his awful and wonderful birth. He came to his birth from the Theotokos Mary, suffered and was crucified and was buried, and rose from the dead on the third day, and during forty days he consorted with his holy disciples and communed with them, and then ascended into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Father on high, and he will come again at the end of this world from heaven, in the glory of his might, to judge the quick and the dead. For to him is due glory and honor and victory and kingship, now and ever and for eternity, Amen.

The letter which was composed by Anastasius, the emperor, against all heretics :

Whereas there is one definition of the faith which we hold due to the 318 holy fathers who assembled in Nicæa, which teaches us that of the holy Trinity one was our Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, who was made incarnate of the holy and God-bearing Virgin Mary, and was made man. This definition

was also received by the holy 150 fathers who assembled in Constantinople to discuss the Holy Ghost. And withal by the blessed council that met in Ephesus and anathematized Nestorius, the heretic, and all who think and believe with him, as also in the letter which is called the *Henoicon* of Zeno, the orthodox emperor; likewise also in the letter of the blessed John, the archbishop of Alexandria; which have the following purport, namely, he anathematizes the tome of Leo and the Council of Chalcedon, which contravened the said definition, and defined them to be two natures after their union in Christ.

But we, as we have received from the holy and true fathers, deny that there are two natures, and confess that there is only one nature out of two, which was made incarnate God, the Word; and we anathematize the Council of Chalcedon, and along with it also Leo and his tome, and all those who assert that there are two Christs and two Sons, one before all eternity and the other in these last times. And those who say that there are two natures after admitting their union, and two persons, and two modes, and two properties, and two diversities, or two several operations of the several natures, these we reject and anathematize because they are found to be contrary to the twelve chapters of the blessed Cyril.

We anathematize Paul of Samosata, and Diodorus, and Theodorus, and Nestorius, and Theodoretus, and Lutharis, and Andreas, and Hibas, and Kurē, and John of Egea, and Bardsuma, and Acacius the Persian, and Apollinaris and Eutyches, and Sabellius, and Arius, and Eunomius, Macedonius, and Mani, and Marcion and Bardesanes, together with their filthy teachings. And we anathematize all who believe as they believe, unless they repent, and all heresies which conflict or shall conflict with the right faith of the Catholic Apostolic Church, and all who do not avow that Mary is the Theotokos, the Holy Virgin, and that from her was made flesh and became man unchangeable and inseparable he that is equal and is the Son of the substance of God the Father, and was also the Son of our nature in virtue of his incarnation. And one is that existed before the incarnation; likewise was he [one] that existed after the incarnation; as we said above, one nature of the incarnate God the Word do we acknowledge. He suffered as a man, and by his sufferings he took away our sufferings; and he died, and by his death slew death, and remained impassible and immortal as God. To him and to the Father who sent him and to the Holy Spirit be glory to eternity of eternities, Amen.

Ye shall remember the sinful scribe of this book, Thomas, and my parents, unto Christ God, O ye ranks of the orthodox.

Here in the margin of the manuscript is written the following note:

From the time at which this letter was written, up to the thirteenth year of the reign of Maurice is 89 years; and from the Council of Chalcedon is 144 years. In the pontificate of the Armenians of George, and in the era of the King of kings A the year 320